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Messages of Salutation to Chairman Mao

PRICES SUBJECT TO CHANGE

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Page

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Letter to the Great Leader Chairman Mao by the Second Group of Graduating Worker-Peasant-Soldier Students of Tsinghua University 1

Letter to the Great Leader Chairman Mao by the Oath-taking Rally of Graduating Students from Senior Middle Schools in Peking Municipality Pledging To Go to the Countryside 4

Letter to the Great Leader Chairman Mao by the Whole Body of the Third-Term "From the Commune and Back to the Commune" Graduates of Ch'aoyang Agricultural College 8

Letter to the Great Leader Chairman Mao by the Whole Body of Representatives to the Shensi Provincial Meeting of Activists in Learning from Tachai in Agriculture among Rusticated Educated Youths 11

Letter to the Great Leader Chairman Mao from 17 University Graduates in Honan Province Who Go or Return to the Countryside to Serve as Peasants 14

Letter to the Great Leader Chairman Mao from the Entire Body of Students of the July 21 Workers' University of Shanghai Machine Tools Plant 17

Letter to the Great Leader Chairman Mao from All Delegates to the Congress of the First Group of Educated Youths Settled in the Countryside of Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region 21

Letter to the Great Leader Chairman Mao by College Graduates in Hopei Province Who Have Come or Returned to the Countryside to Serve as Peasants 24

Letter Paying Homage to the Great Leader Chairman Mao from Ten Worker-Peasant-Soldier Graduates of Heilungkiang Agricultural Development University 27

Letter to the Great Leader Chairman Mao by the Whole Body of Representatives of the Congress of Advanced Groups and Individuals of Anshan Iron and Steel Company in Thoroughly Implementing the Charter of Anshan Iron and Steel Company and in Learning from Tach'ing in Industry 30

Page

Letter to the Great Leader Chairman Mao from the Educated Youths Who Have Come or Returned to the "Plenty of Room to Develop Talents' People's Commune 34

Letter to the Great Leader Chairman Mao from 60 College Graduates of Various Nationalities in Kansu Province Who Have Returned to the Countryside to Serve as Peasants or Herdsmen 38

Letter to the Great Leader Chairman Mao from Worker-Peasant-Soldier Students of Tsinghua University, Peking University and Other Colleges and Educated Youths from Peking Who Have Come to Settle in Tibet 42

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Letter to the Great Leader Chairman Mao by the Second Group of Graduating Worker-Peasant-Soldier Students of Tsinghua University

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao Dec. 30, 1975)

Respected and beloved great leader Chairman Mao:

In the wave of enthusiasm for the great debate on the revolution in education under your kind solicitude, and in these fighting days of hitting back at the right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts, we, 1,804 graduating worker-peasant-worker students will soon proceed to work in various parts of the motherland. We have many things in our hearts that we would like to tell you at this unforgettable moment!

More than three years ago, under the guidance of your "July 21 Instruction," we came to attend university by your side. The sons and daughters of the slaves in the old society have become the masters of the new-type socialist university. Without the great proletarian cultural revolution initiated and led by you and without the "July 27" for which the working class had shed blood and made sacrifices, we would not be what we are today.

The road forward is stormy. The bourgeoisie and revisionists attempted time and again to make a breach on the cultural and educational battlefront in order to negate the great proletarian cultural revolution. Under the leadership of the university's Party committee and with class struggle as the key link, we waged fierce struggles against them again and again. Shortly after we came to the university, we plunged ourselves into the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius personally initiated and led by you, and put up the first revolutionary big-characte r poster in the university to oppose the backlash of revisionism.

What is most unforgettable to us is that in the three months of July, August and September this year, the bourgeoisie whipped up a gust of right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts, attacked your revolutionary line and negated the great proletarian cultural revolution. All sorts of strange talks and absurd arguments for negating the revolution in education cropped up on the educational front like riotous clouds sweeping down upon us. How we wanted to see the outbreak of a stormy counter-offensive to enable us to vent our suppressed rage! At the crucial moment, it was your series of great instructions that provided us with inexhaustible strength, like a gust of strong east wind blowing away the scattered clouds. With you backing us and directing our battle, we were enjoying the greatest happiness on earth! The fierce struggles that took place one after another have taught us profoundly that our destiny is closely related to the great proletarian cultural revolution and your revolutionary line as flesh is to blood and as each breath is to the next.

In the struggle to criticize the borugeoisie and revisionism, we thirstily studied Marxist-Leninist works and your works, studied the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, criticized Water Margin, and continuously enhanced our fighting capacity in combating and preventing revisionism. Among our fellow students, 543 have joined the Communist Party of China and 161 the Communist Youth League.

In compliance with your instruction that "it is necessary to make revolution in education," we ran counter to the revisionist line in education, adhered to the open-door policy in education and built our ability in the practice of the three great revolutionary movements. We ran a spare-time university, short-term training classes and correspondence courses for the workers, peasants and soldiers, so that those who were educated could educate others and those who educated others could be educated.

In diploma practice, we undertook 332 production and scientific research projects to meet the urgent needs of the state. At present, 217 items have been applied to production, 117 items are up to Chinese advanced standards, and some are up to world advanced levels. This is a great victory for your revolutionary line in education. It has dealt a powerful counter-blow to the shameless lies spread by the bourgeoisie and revisionists in attacking and slandering the revolution in education.

Respected and beloved Chairman Mao: During the great debate on the revolution in education, we will soon set out on a new journey. In many a sleepless night and at many a dawn of fighting, we time and again recalled to mind the years of war in which you led our fathers and elder brothers to fight north and south, and we time and again recalled to mind the glorious years in which you led us to sweep away decadent things during the great proletarian cultural revolution. Our thoughts drifted from the educational battlefront to the whole country and the whole world, from the immediate struggle to the present century and the next. What we had in mind was how to take over the red flag of Marxism-Leninism from our revolutionary predecessors and how to carry through to the end the continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

With lofty ideals and courageous action, many fellow students have written resplendent letters pledging determination "to work as peasants after graduation from the university and to steel a red heart in the vast countryside," and "to greet with a chuckle the snowstorm on the plateau and make revolution in the frontier regions."

At present, 12 fellow students and two worker-peasant-soldier students of the previous group, who remained behind at the university after graduation, have realized their wish to work as peasants in the countryside. Among them, four comrades-in-arms are about to leave for rural areas in Tibet. Another 167 students have been gloriously granted permission to take part in railway construction in a certain locality; 138 others will go to Tibet, Tsinghai and Sinkiang to participate in socialist revolution and construction. This is an unprecedented revolutionary feat in the 64-year history of Tsinghua University. It stands for our practical action in going against the tide to make a complete break with traditional ideas. It is another step forward taken by us in the orientation of the youth movement charted by you, and along the road of integration with workers and peasants. We will leave a footprint with each step taken and will keep on marching unflinchingly. Taking the firm steps of the younger generation of the proletariat, we will shatter the fond dreams of the imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries to make this generation of ours change color and to stage a come-back.

Respected and beloved Chairman Mao: Our eyes are filled with tears whenever we think of you, though at an advanced age, still toiling day and night in the interest of the Chinese revolution and world revolution. Please rest assured that we will bear in mind your teaching: "The issue of who will win in the revolution can only be settled over a long historical period. If things are not properly handled, it is possible for a capitalist restoration to take place at any time."

We will take class struggle as the key link and adhere to the Party's basic line any time, anywhere. Like Red seeds, we will take root among workers and peasants, come into bloom and bear fruits. We will strive to study the brilliant Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and remold our world outlook consciously. We will keep on fighting in spite of all setbacks and advance dauntlessly, no matter what kind of hardship, danger or storm may be ahead of us on our journey! With Marxism-Leninism as the big ax to c ear our way and with your brilliant thought as the guiding light, we are bound to and will definitely achieve our goal!

We respectfully wish you a long, long life!

The Second Group of Worker-Peasant-
Soldier Students of Tsinghua University

December 26, 1975

* * *

Letter to the Great Leader Chairman Mao by the Oath-taking Rally of Graduating Students from Senior Middle Schools in Peking Municipality Pledging To Go to the Countryside

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao Jan. 23, 1976)

Respected and beloved great leader Chairman Mao:

As the militant year 1976 begins, in the stormy struggle of the mass debate on the revolution in education to repulse the right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, we, the more than 100,000 senior middle school graduating students in Peking, are resolved to take the road guided by you, to integrate ourselves with workers and peasants, to set out for the vast countryside to temper ourselves, and to make revolution in mountainous and other rural areas. Faced with the excellent situation at home and abroad in which "the world is being turned upside down" and "past scenes are transformed," we hereby express to you the heartfelt desire of the revolutionary youths with pride and seething enthusiasm.

Respected and beloved Chairman Mao! We were born in the years of the Great Leap Forward with red flags fluttering in our motherland already under brilliant sunshine. Nurtured by your brilliant thought and wholly relying on the loving care and cultivation of you and the Party, we have sturdily matured like the seedlings in spring.

When we began to wear red scarves, you personally kindled the torch of the great proletarian cultural revolution. We followed you, participated in the struggle to topple the bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i, and received the first lesson of class struggle.

When we entered junior middle schools and put on the Red Guard armbands, you led the battle that smashed the Lin Piao anti-Party clique. We followed you, and criticized and denounced the towering crimes of this gang of careerists and conspirators. Since then, we have acquired a deeper understanding that revisionism is still the principal danger at present.

Immediately after that, you led the great movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and issued the wise instructions on the study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the criticism of Water Margin. We followed you, criticized "subdue oneself and return to propriety," declared war against the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, and fought valiantly for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and combating and preventing revisionism. By insatiably studying Marxism-Leninism and your brilliant works, we have constantly raised our awareness of class struggle and the two-line struggle and of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the meantime, we have made up our minds to wage a life-long struggle for criticizing ideas of bourgeois rights, sweeping away the soil that breeds capitalism and exercising all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie.

Respected and bloved Chairman Mao! Looking back over the fighting course, we deeply understand that as we grow and mature in the storms of class struggle and advance in the fierce struggle between the two lines, it is your revolutionary line that has charted for us the course of advance to victory. We will never forget your teachings on classes and class struggle. Recently you have repeatedly taught us, "Stability and unity do not mean writing off class struggle; class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it." This is a brilliant truth of Marxism. We must firmly grasp class struggle as the key link.

Guided by your proletarian line of revolution in education, the great proletarian cultural revolution criticized the revisionist line in education which had prevailed for 17 years. The working class moved into colleges, primary and secondary schools, mounted the political stage in the superstructure and shattered the domination of schools by bourgeois intellectuals. The proletarian revolution in education thus took the first gratifying step.

The education front is a battlefield for acute and fierce class struggle. A victory won in struggle is followed closely by another struggle. In the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, we waged a struggle to repulse the backlash of revisionism and stemmed this adverse current. In July, August and September last year, the bourgeoisie again whipped up a Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts in an attempt to negate the great proletarian cultural revolution, the new socialist things and the proletarian revolution in education. Having heard the absurd arguments made by the bourgeois aristocratic overlords, we had to suppress our resentment.

Respected and beloved Chairman Mao! Your heart is always linked with ours. At that crucial moment, you again saw everything clearly and led us to unfold a struggle to repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts. With pens as our weapons, we, filled with revolutionary indignation, made for the battlefield. The thousands of big-character posters and the thousands of criticism meetings were irresistible. We severely denounced the absurd arguments, and keep to the orientation "Education should be revolutionized" set by you. Today we pledge to go to the countryside. This revolutionary action means giving them a sound box on their ears!

Respected and beloved Chairman Mao! We are revolutionary youths brought up in the great proletarian cultural revolution. Our destiny is closely related to the great proletarian cultural revolution as blood is to flesh and as each breath is to the next. Certain people vainly attempt to reverse the verdicts on the great proletarian cultural revolution. We are firmly opposed to this attempt! We will resolutely fight to the end against anyone who dares to attack the great cultural revolution and your revolutionary line!

Dear Chairman Mao! Because of your repeated teachings on class struggle, we have a clear mind and sharp eyes. The successive storms of class struggle have further boosted our fighting morale. We will never forget to firmly grasp class struggle as the key link, and our will is as strong as steel.

Respected and beloved Chairman Mao! As early as in 1939 you pointed out for the youth movement the correct orientation of integrating youths with workers and peasants. During the great proletarian cultural revolution, you again issued a great call, "It is highly necessary for educated young people to go to the countryside to be re-educated by the poor and lower-middle peasants." Warmly responding to your call, the broad masses of young people whipped up a wave of enthusiasm for going to the mountains and the countryside.

Over the past few years, 450,000 eduated young people in Peking have gone to the vast rural areas and frontierlands where they receive tempering and mature. They have become a vigorous shock force of the socialist revolution and socialist construction in the countryside and have made contributions in the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture. We are determined to take the bright road of going to the countryside to integrate ourselves with the workers and peasants as indicated by you and to struggle for developing a modern socialist agriculture, restricting bourgeois rights, narrowing the three major differences, consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, combating and preventing revisionism, building China into a powerful modern socialist country, and realizing the great ideal of communism. Our slogans are: Do farm work wholeheartedly and learn from Tachai! Be path-breakers in combating and preventing revisionism! Stand firm against the winds and waves! Never change our minds even if the sea dries up and the stones rot!

The surging movement to settle educated youths in the countryside has effectively refuted the shameless lies of the bourgeois lords who slander that our revolutionary youths "are not so good as those of the previous generation." We successors to the revolutionary cause of the proltariat will sturdily grow and mature in the three great revolutionary movements in the rural areas like the mighty eagles flying over the vast land.

Respected and beloved Chairman Mao! You regard the revolutionary young people as the sun at eight or nine in the morning and have pinned China's future and mankind's hope on us. This is the greatest confidence you have placed on and the greatest encouragement you have given to the younger generation. We will live up to your earnest expectations.

The young people in Peking are the new generation maturing beside you. We must carry forward the glorious revolutionary tradition of the May 4 Movement and the revolutionary spirit of the Red Guards warmly backed by you. We will surely not let you down but will win honor for the proletariat. We are willing to shed our blood in writing history and will continue the revolution to open a new chapter in history. "Nothing is hard in this world if you dare to scale the heights." Your magnificent and beautiful lines will forever encourage us to march forward bravely. Let the imperialist prophets weep and let the bourgeois lords practicing restoration and regression tremble! Their pipe-dream and vain attempt to restore capitalism will surely go bankrupt.

Respected and beloved Chairman Mao! Please rest assured that we will succeed to the Marxist-Leninist cause started by the proletarian revolutionary predecessors, shoulder the heavy tasks of revolution, hold high the great banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, and carry the cause of proletarian revolution through to the end.

We respectfully wish you a long, long life!

Oath-Taking Rally of Graduating Students
from Senior Middle Schools in Peking
Pledging To Go to the Countryside

January 19, 1976

* * *

Letter to the Great Leader Chairman Mao by the Whole Body of the Third-Term "From the Commune and Back to the Commune" Graduates of Ch'aoyang Agricultural College

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao Jan. 26, 1976)

Respected and beloved great leader Chairman Mao:

In the excellent situation in the motherland where "Orioles sing, swallows dart everywhere," and encouraged by the great debate on the revolution in education led personally by you, we 176 graduating students of Ch'aoyang Agricultural College will soon follow the principle of "from the commune and back to the commune" and go to the forefront of the three great revolutionary struggles in the countryside to serve as peasants of a new type. At this exciting moment, we stand on Yingtsui Mountain and look at Peking from afar with emotions churning like the flow and ebb of tide. We have so many words to tell you!

Three years ago, we descendents of poor and lower-middle peasants who were for generations looked down upon by other people as "people with mud-covered legs" strode into Chaoyang Agricultural College with heads high and tears of happiness in our eyes. We know very well that the establishment of this new socialist agricultural college and the enrollment of us children of poor and lower-middle peasants were possible because of the great proletarian cultural revolution initiated and led personally by you to criticize Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, because of your call "The working class must exercise leadership in everything" which made the working class mount the political stage of struggle-criticism-transformation in the superstructure and because of the guidance of your brilliant July 30, May 7 and July 21 directives.

Our fate is closely related to the great proletarian cultural revolution as each breath is to the next, and is closely linked with your line. Reviewing the history of the struggle between the two classes and between the two lines at Ch'aoyang Agricultural College, we see that each of our achievements is a victory of your revolutionary line. We have done whatever you say, worked against the 17-year long revisionist line in education and strived to turn the school into a tool of the dictatorship of the proletariat. We follow the principle of "from the commune and back to the commune" and are resolved to become peasants after graduation from the agricultural college and take concrete action to restrict bourgeois rights and narrow the three major differences. The poor and lower-middle peasants praise such students as what they "can afford to send and take back, to bring up and use."

The principle of "from the commune and back to the commune" has materialized your great idea and written a new chapter of the history of proletarian education. But it has also been opposed by the bourgeois lords and the force of old habits. At the beginning, some people denounced this principle as a product of Lin Piao's ultra-Left line, and made all kinds of false accusations against it in a vain attempt to smother our college in the cradle. In July, August and September of last year, all kinds of absurd arguments appeared and a Right-deviationist wind to reverse verdicts was

whipped up in educational circles. All kinds of criticism were levelled at Ch'aoyang Agricultural College. They slandered the principle of "from the commune and back to the commune" to serve as peasants and earn wage points as a communist thing done at the stage of socialism. They used this to attack your educational line, and attempted to negate the great cultural revolution.

Those engaged in revolution know that they are close to Peking and the rebels especially feel Chairman Mao's kindness. Chairman Mao, Chairman Mao! In the successive life-and-death struggles between the two classes and the two lines, it was your series of great instructions that gave us inexhaustible strength. With your support, we were dauntless and stood up straight; with you taking the helm for us, our hearts were red, our eyes were sharp and our orientation was clear. Led by the college Party committee and the workers' propaganda team, we went to the battlefield and made oral and written criticisms, thus bringing into play the worker-peasant-soldier students' role of "attending, managing and transforming the college" and dealing a heavy blow at the absurd arguments. The successive storms of struggles have enabled us to clearly see that revisionism is still the principal danger at present, that the question of who will win--the proletariat or the bourgeoisie--in the ideological sphere has still not been genuinely settled and that consistent and untiring efforts have still to be made by several generations. We belong to a new generation to carry on the heritage and to pave the way for future generations. Our responsibility is heavy and we have a long way to go. We are resolved to take class struggle as the key link, always bear in mind the Party's basic line formulated by you and carry the struggle to combat and oppose revisionism through to the end.

Respected and beloved Chairman Mao, over the past three years, we have conscientiously studied the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the four volumes of your precious works, and selected the relevant Marxist-Leninist works to study. With strong militant emotion, we have taken part in the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius and of Water Margin, properly studied class struggle as the main course and enhanced our awareness of class struggle and the two-line struggle. In the past three years, 27 of our comrades have joined the CCP and 31 have joined the CYL.

In accordance with your instructions, we persisted in "part-work and part-study and studying while working," implemented the "three-in-one combination" of teaching-learning, scientific research and production, braved the severe cold and snowstorms, held aloft the red banner of the Anti-Japanese Political and Military College and built rows of dwelling caves at the foot of Yingtsui Mountain. We braved the hot sun and torrential rains, took the road of the Communist University and reclaimed plots of farmland along the Taling River. We shared the thought and anxiety of the poor and lower-middle peasants, and strived to contribute strength, in the period of study, toward the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture. In the course of "going up and stepping down many times," we ran more than 200 terms of short-term training classes under the leadership of local Party organizations. We developed and created high-yield fields in areas where paddy had never been planted. We built fruit orchards in areas which the bourgeois experts considered to be unsuitable for fruit tree planting. We cured the sick animals which were considered to have incurable diseases.

On the eve of graduation, each of us worked out a plan for building our home villages into Tachai-type villages. We know that the poor and lower-middle peasants of our home villages are eagerly anticipating our return to our communes and production brigades and teams to join them in the battle to build Tachai-type counties. At the same time, we also think of other parts of the motherland. Many of us have asked to be sent to settle in frontierland. Once you give the order, we will go to wherever we are needed the most. The principle of "from the commune and back to the commune" has been vilified as "speculative, fearful of hardship and useless in battle." Let such absurd arguments go to hell! The thundering steps of the new peasants will crush the imperialist dream of pinning its hope of realizing "peaceful evolution" on the third or fourth generation of China.

We entered the college with our bodies covered with mud and will go back to the rural villages with calluses on our palms. Respected and beloved Chairman Mao, the revolutionary comrades-in-arms of Tsinghua University have conveyed in their letter to you what we worker-peasant-soldier students have in mind. Looking at our long march ahead, we are clear that the future is bright, but the road is tortuous. No matter how many difficulties, dangers and tempestuous storms are ahead, we will make persistent effort to overcome them and to advance courageously. "We can clasp the moon in the Ninth Heaven and seize turtles deep down in the Five Seas." Your brilliant poem will always inspire and encourage us to bravely scale new heights. We will transform the world with our own hands and build our as yet very backward rural areas into a socialist new countryside. We vow to plant the great banner of Marxism-Leninism on the heights of communism.

We respectfully wish you a long, long life!

The Whole Body of the Third-Term
"From the Commune and Back to the
Commune" Graduates of Ch'aoyang
Agricultural College

January 25, 1976

(NCNA Shenyang, Jan. 25, 1976)

* * *

Letter to the Great Leader Chairman Mao by the Whole Body of Representatives to the Shensi Provincial Meeting of Activists in Learning from Tachai in Agriculture among Rusticated Educated Youths

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao Feb. 5, 1976)

Respected and beloved Great Leader Chairman Mao:

In an excellent situation where "Orioles sing, swallows dart" and "New scenes are replacing the old" everywhere in the motherland and the great revolutionary movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture and build Tachai-type counties throughout the country is vigorously developing, Shensi Province calls a meeting of representatives of activists in learning from Tachai in agriculture among rusticated educated youths. We 996 representatives to the meeting recall our course of fighting in mountainous and rural areas. Thoughts churn up and emotion and pride surged in our minds. All that we want to say can be boiled down to a firm determination: We want to strike roots and make revolution in the countryside and to remain unaffected in the face of howling winds and pounding waves.

Amidst the strains of the triumphant song of the great proletarian cultural revolution, we tens of thousands of educated young people warmly responded to your great call "It is highly necessary for educated young people to go to the countryside to be re-educated by the poor and lower-middle peasants." Full of pride and firm in determination, we headed for the countryside, for the mountainous areas and for where you once lived and fought. We settled down in production teams and took the road of integration with workers and peasants. With an iron will, we set ourselves to farming; with a lofty ambition, we were determined to change mountains and rivers. Seven fighting years have elapsed. Under your kind care, we stoutly grew up in the course of fiery struggle.

Bearing firmly in mind your teaching "Class struggle is a main course of study for young people" and led by the poor and lower-middle peasants, we act as pace-setters in the heated struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines in the countryside, blocking the capitalist road and building up the socialist cause. After going through the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and criticizing Water Margin, we get more enlightened, see things more clearly and become firmer in determination. Taking over the old shovels of Nanniwan, we fight against heaven and earth, transform mountains and rivers and draw a beautiful picture of a socialist new countryside. In the vast desert on the northern frontiers stands the windbreak built by us together with the poor and lower-middle peasants by improving soil and transforming the sandy waste. On the Shensi plain is planted a fine strain of wheat which we have cultivated. On banks of the Wei River are fluttering our bright red banners of combat to wrest grain from the wasteland. On the Pashan and the Ch'inling Mountains are displayed tiers of terraced fields which we have newly built. In our ranks are basic-level cadres shouldering heavy burdens, political night theoretical tutors of political evening schools, barefoot doctors actively carrying out health and medical work for the masses of commune members, teachers of people-operated schools

fervently training revolutionary successors, animal breeders and tractor operators welcomed by the poor and lower-middle peasants, PLA fighters who did not return to the city after demobilization but chose to settle down in the countryside, and worker-peasant-soldier students who started serving as peasants upon graduation from college. They find glory and happiness in farming. "Agriculture" which had for several thousands of years been regarded by the exploiting classes as inferior work has been put in a position of prime importance by the people of our generation. The Confucian and Mencian doctrines honored by reactionary rulers through the past ages as sacred decrees have been trampled underfoot by people of our generation. Peasants of a new type with both socialist consciousness and culture is building a great socialist new countryside with their commonplace labor. The rich fruits of the rustication of educated young people have fully demonstrated the incomparably strong vitality of sociaist new things. These ironclad facts are a loud box on the ears of the bourgeois lords hiding in dark corners and screaming that "one generation is not as good as the other before it."

Respected and beloved Chairman Mao, we have recently studied your instruction, "Stability and unity do not mean writing off class struggle; class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it." We have come to deeply realize that your instruction is an indestructible truth. A new thing, the rustication of educated young people was born and has grown and developed in the course of class struggle. The struggle about whether educated young people should follow the road of integration with workers and peasants is in essence a problem of for which class should successors be trained. In the historical priod of socialist society, this struggle not only existed in the past but also exists at present and will exist in the future. We are determined to forge bravely ahead in the teeth of the storm of struggle.

In the three months of July, August and September last year, a gust of Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts was whipped up in society. Some people clamored that "good middle-school students should be chosen and sent directly to the college," in a vain attempt to drag the young people back to the old road of "three divorcements from politics, practice and the masses," to negate the educational revolution, to oppose the rustication of educated young people and to reverse the verdict on the great proletarian cultural revolution. We resolutely won't allow them to do so. We definitely will carry forward the revolutionary spirit of the Red Guards, adhere to the correct orientation of the rustication of educated young people, resolutely hit back at absurd arguments, safeguard your revolutionary line and consolidate and develop the great fruits of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Respected and beloved Chairman Mao, in those war years when the Chinese nation was facing a multitude of difficulties and the fire of the War of Resistance Against Japan licked the heavens, you wrote in Yenan the brilliant work, The Orientation of the Youth Movement. Like bright beacon, it illuminated the road of advance for the revolutionary youths. To seek truth, countless young people broke through the enemy blockade, came to Yenan and rallied by your side. At the foot of the Paot'a Mountain and on both banks of the Yenho River, they put your great teaching to practice. They carried out study and production and fought battles simultaneously. They became model youths for the whole country.

We are a new generation nursed by the Yenan spirit. Today, we are determined to "carry forward revolutionary traditions and win still greater glories" and to add a new chapter to the Yenan Youth Movement. We will study more assiduously the works by Marx and Lenin and your works, seriously study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, take class struggle as the key link, adhere to the Party's basic line, vigorously lay hold of the fundamentals in learning from Tachai and fight arduously to build a new enterprise. We will show the same vigor, the same revolutionary fervor and the same daring death-defying revolutionary spirit displayed by the revolutionary forerunners of the past in making revolution under your leadership, and join the poor and lower-middle peasants in vigorously criticizing revisionism and capitalism and vigorously building socialism with a view to achieving communism. Within one or two years, or even three or four years, we will build the communes and brigades where we are into advanced communes and brigades in learning from Tachai. We will turn the revolutionary ideals into splenderous realities. In the heroic spirit of "clasping the moon in the Ninth Heaven and seizing turtles deep down in the Five Seas," we will dedicate the prime of our youth to building our country into a modern socialist power, combating and preventing revisionism and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Respected and beloved Chairman Mao, the motherland is in an excellent situation and the Five Continents and the Four Seas are undergoing "earth-shaking changes." In our advance, the struggles may still be very violent, but the new peasants of our generation armed with Mao Tsetung Thought are determined to forge bravely ahead along the course charted by you. Whatever happens, we will never let the wheel of history be turned back, and nothing will shake our iron will to devote our lives to fighting for the ideal of communism. We will keep the red banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought flying forever above the vast land of the motherland.

We respectfully wish you a long, long life!

The Whole Body of Representatives to the
Shensi Provincial Meeting of Activists
in Learning from Tachai in Agriculture
among Rusticated Educated Young People of
Shensi Province

January 26, 1976

(NCNA Dispatch from Sian, February 4, 1976)

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Letter to the Great Leader Chairman Mao from 17 University Graduates in Honan Province Who Go or Return to the Countryside to Serve as Peasants

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao Feb. 19, 1976)

Respected and beloved great leader Chairman Mao:

In the exceedingly excellent situation in which "Orioles sing, swallows swirl everywhere" in the country and in the fervent campaign of launching in-depth mass debate on the revolution in education, the CCP Honan Provincial Committee called the 17 of us, university graduates who would go or return to the countryside to work as peasants, for a discussion meeting. At the meeting, we once again seriously studied the series of the important instructions on the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the revolution in education and looked back over the process of our growth with the nourishment from your brilliant thought. Quoting our personal experience and understanding, we criticized the various absurd arguments negating the revolution in education and beat back the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts in the education circle. At the moment when we are about to return to the fighting post in the countryside, there are so many words from the bottom of our hearts that we want to tell you!

A year ago, when the first group of worker-peasant-soldier students in the whole province had finished their studies and were about to step onto a new journey, we seriously studied the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, studied your ideas on the revolution in education, learned the experience of Ch'aoyang Institute of Agriculture in carrying out revolution in education. Subsequently, we saw the orientation and the road more clearly and clarified our combatant tasks. We have come to understand that the socialist period we are in is "the period of struggle between capitalism on the decline and communism on the ascendant." During this period, if we fail to exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, to restrict bourgeois rights and to sweep away the soil that gives rise to revisionism and the bourgeoisie, our Party will become revisionist, our country will change its political color and the red political power which our forefathers have founded by giving away their blood and lives in heroic struggles led by you will be lost again. We are the first group of worker-peasant-soldier graduates after the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the offspring of the proletariat. We will resolutely implement your proletarian revolutionary line, fight to combat and guard against revisionism, and fight for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In compliance with your great teaching "All intellectuals who can work in the countryside should be happy to go there" and your brilliant "July 21" instruction, we carry out a thorough rupture with the old traditional ideas, such as "he who excels in learning should be an official," and in full revolutionary enthusiasm, have come or returned to the countryside to serve as new peasants. The Party provincial committee, the Party committees at various levels under it and the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants show a warm welcome and voice firm support for our action.

Around summer last year, while we were--together with the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants and by taking class struggle as the key link and adhering to the Party's basic line--vigorously criticizing revisionism and capitalism, vigorously practicing socialism and launching the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture, a gust of Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts was whipped up in society and absurd arguments appeared in the education circle negating the revolution in education, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the socialist new things. This gust of wind also blew among us. Some people disagreed with the practice of "from the commune, back to the commune" and said that university graduates serving as peasants was "ultra-Left," "regressive" and "just a fashion." But, we firmly believe that it is absolutely correct to work in compliance with your instruction. Your brilliant thought encourages us to fight and inspires us to forge ahead. With firm resolution, we perseveringly carry out revolution in the countryside. Neither winds nor waves can make us waver. We will take solid action to resolutely wage counter-attacks on this gust of Right-deviation wind to reserve verdicts.

Respected and beloved Chairman Mao, the practice of struggle enables us to understand that the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution personally initiated and led by you is "completely necessary and extremely timely." The orientation "Education needs revolution" which you have charted for us is matchlessly correct. Without the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and without the revolution in education, we, children of workers and poor and lower-middle peasants, basically cannot attend university. Our destiny is closely linked with the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and your proletarian revolutionary line. The concocter of absurd arguments attacked the university graduates serving as peasants and as laborers with socialist consciousness and culture. The essence of this attack is to oppose your educational line, to negate the proletarian educational revolution, to reverse the correct appraisal of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and to restore capitalism. However, the wheel of history can never be turned back. With your brilliant thought as the guide, our hearts are red and eyes sharp and spirits high. We must fight to safeguard your revolutionary line and consolidate and develop the great achievements in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution to the end. Let the bourgeois aristocrat overlords weep and moan! The proletarian educational revolution will continue to write brilliant new chapters and the younger generation of the proletariat will grow more sturdily.

Respected and beloved Chairman Mao, please rest assured that we will assiduously study the works by Marx and Lenin and your works, bear firmly in mind the basic line your have charted for the Party, lay a firm hold on class struggle as the key link, carry forward the dauntless revolutionary spirit of "clasping the moon in the Ninth Heaven and seizing turtles deep down in the Five Seas," forge ahead clearing away obstacles in our way, and take over the red flag from the hands of our revolutionary predecessors and plant it on the peak of communism.

We respectfully wish you a long, long life!

Seventeen university graduates in Honan Province who go or return to the countryside to serve as peasants:

Chu Yü-lan (朱玉兰)
Ts'ui Ai-mei (崔爱梅)
Chia Wen-feng (贾文峰)
Pien Chia-yü (边家玉)
Pai Su-chün (白苏军)
Hao Hao-shan (赫好山)
Nieh Chü-fa (聂聚法)
Shih Yün-huai (史运怀)
Feng Hsiang-k'o (冯相可)
Sung Kuei-chen (宋桂珍)
Hu Sheng-chin (胡生金)
Hao Chien-huei (郝建辉)
Hsiao Ching-hung (肖景宏)
Chou Ch'eng-i (周诚义)
Hu Hsiang-yeh (胡祥业)
Hsiao Ch'eng-an (肖成安)
Wang Hsiao-chieh (王晓杰)

January 27, 1976

* * *

Letter to the Great Leader Chairman Mao from the Entire Body of Students of the July 21 Workers' University of Shanghai Machine Tools Plant

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao Feb. 21, 1976)

Respected and beloved great leader Chairman Mao:

Initiated and led personally by you, a struggle to hit back at the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts is launched rapidly and vigorously. The beating of war drums is a spur and the blowing of bugles a shake to the people. We, the entire body of students of the July 21 Workers' University of the Shanghai Machine Tools Plant, have all come forward to join in the combat. Thinking from the educational, scientific and technical circles to the entire country and the whole world, from this mass debate to the future and destiny of the Party and the state, we feel more deeply that the task is heavy and the road ahead is long. There are millions of words on our minds but these words cannot describe sufficiently our infinite love for you!

Respected and beloved Chairman Mao! You have at all times given us, the Shanghai working class, warm concerns and have pointed out to us the orientation for forging ahead at every critical moment during the revolutionary struggle. Whenever we recall the happy scene when you came to inspect our factory in person on July 8, 1957, the excitement inside us is like the roaring billows in spring tide that are hard to calm down. You came among us workers, warmly shook hands with us and chatted with us, giving us boundless strength. We feel that you are at our side and are guiding us forward every day! On July 21, 1968, you issued the brilliant instruction "Take the road of the Shanghai Machine Tools Plant in training technicians from among the workers," charting the great program for the working class to lead the revolution in education and to train and bring up a contingent of intellectuals of its own, and declaring bankruptcy on Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line of education!

Seven years ago, illuminated by your brilliant instructions, our plant set up the July 21 Workers' University. Its birth is a victorious achievement of the great proletarian cultural revolution. Its birth has again seriously declared that the working class is the master of the educational revolution! In these seven years, in compliance with your guidance, our plant has constantly struggled for strengthening the technological contingent of the working class. It not only perseveres in running the July 21 Workers' University properly but also has set up a sparetime university for the workers. It has not only started courses on science and engineering, but also opened arts classes for training a workers' contingent of theorists. It has also helped the rural people's communes to set up agrotechnical classes and made an effort to develop agricultural mechanization. Now, the "July 21" road you have charted for us has been beaten wider and the flowers of the July 21 Workers' University are blooming on both banks of P'uchiang River. Comparing the seven years during which we ran the university according to your brilliant "July 21" instruction with the "seventeen years" during which the old universities were under the rule of Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line of

education, we understand more and more deeply that the "July 21" road charted by you is the only road by which the working class can train its mighty new contingent of intellectuals, the correct road the proletariat must adhere to in conducting the educational revolution, and the road of triumph for combating and guarding against revisionism and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat.

However, as you once said, "The happy day for the broad masses of people is the difficult day for the counter-revolutionaries." We leap with joy over the rich fruits gained by the proletarian revolution in education. Those unrepentant capitalist roaders in power in the Party who uphold Liu Shao-ch'i's and Lin Piao's revisionist line can feel that their end is near. They wage a death-bed struggle and whimper in despair. They whip up the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts, dish up various sorts of absurd arguments to advocate revisionism and, in particular, shamelessly distort and maliciously attack the "July 21" road you have charted. Around last summer, those whipped up the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts openly came forward and pointed their spearhead directly at your revolutionary line. They said such nonsense as "the July 21 University of Shanghai Machine Tools Plant is a form but not the only form." They flagrantly negated the general significance of the "July 21 directives" to the educational revolution and reversed the correct appraisal of the great proletarian cultural revolution. For a time, the July 21 Workers' University became the target of concentrated attacks launched by those who dished up absurd arguments. It seemed that they had the appetite to devour all July 21 workers' universities throughout the country at one gulp! These adverse practices aroused our great proletarian anger. In this life-and-death struggle between the two classes and the two lines, it was you, respected and beloved Chairman Mao, who perceived through everything, grasped the opportunity, and led us to wage a great struggle to hit back at the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts! It was your brilliant "July 21 directive" and the series of your great teachings that gave us boundless strength and enabled us to understand clearly the great practical significance and the far-reaching historical significance of this struggle, and to see clearly that "the capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road" is the law of struggle in the historical period of socialism. Under the leadership of the Party Committee of the Plant, we all came forward to the battle front. With Marxism-Leninism and your brilliant thought as weapon, we profoundly criticized the program of "taking the three directives as the key link" used by the unrepentant capitalist roader to restore revisionism and its theoretical basis, that is, the theory of dying out of class struggle and the theory of productive forces, thereby effectively hitting back at the various absurd arguments which whipped up the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts.

The people whipping up the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts describe your brilliant instruction "Take the road of the Shanghai Machine Tools Plant in training technicians from among the workers" as only a "form." How can we tolerate this?! We know thoroughly that to whom the schools open their doors, what kind of students they enrol, where should they go upon graduation--all these directly concern the class nature of education and the fundamental question of who exercises dictatorship over whom in the spheres of the superstructure. Before the liberation, our forefathers were deprived

of the right to receive an education in culture. After liberation, the workers have become the masters of the country. However, under the seventeen years' of rule of Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist educational line, we were still kept outside the universities. Respected and beloved Chairman Mao, it was precisely the great cultural revolution initiated and led by you personally that trampled the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao underfoot and smashed the domination of the sphere of education by the bourgeois intellectuals. It was precisely by dint of your brilliant instruction "Students should be selected from among workers and peasants with practical experiences" that the working class set up its own university and we could proudly walk into the university and became glorious worker university students. However, behind the smokescreen that "July 21" road is a "form," the unrepentant capitalist roader once more peddled the revisionist trash "picking the good students of high schools and sending them direct to university" which has been peddled before the great proletarian cultural revolution, in a vain attempt to drive us out of the university once again and exercise bourgeois dictatorship over us in the sphere of education again. How could we allow a replay of this historical tragedy? In order to run our university into a tool of the dictatorship of the proletariat, we acted on your teaching of "putting proletarian politics in command" and first of all, took class struggle as the main subject of study and combined the entire course of teaching with the three major revolutionary movements, so that "the students still smell grease and hear the sound of running machines" and could join the workers in assiduously studying the Marxist-Leninist writings and your works, vigorously criticizing revisionism and carrying out socialism, thereby contributing toward the movement of learning from Tach'ing in industry.

In compliance with your teachings, we adhere to the policy of coming from among workers and going back to the workers. Upon graduation, we will "return to the practice of production," serve as an ordinary laborer and plunge ourselves to the first line of the three major revolutionary movements. Among the 100 fellow students of our plant graduated in the past two years, 80 percent are members of the workers' contingent of theorists. They have taken part in the design and manufacturing of 58 items of new products. Some of these products have caught up with or surpassed the world's advanced level. The working masses call these graduates "backbones of theoretical study, pace-setters in combating and guarding against revisionism, pioneers in technical reform and shock troopers in scaling the heights of science and technology." Practice shows that this creates favorable conditions for restricting bourgeois rights, narrowing the three major differences, enhancing the superiority of the working class in the engineering and technical ranks, and consolidating and developing the economic base of socialism. However, behind the smokescreen of vilifying the "July 21" road as a "form," the unrepentant capitalist roader continues to peddle the trash "those excelling in learning should be officials" and the "theory of studying in order to become an official" and say such nonsense as "what is the use of going to university" if the workers should remain workers after studying in the July 21 Workers' University. We definitely will not be fooled by them and not be the slaves of the revisionist educational system! The working class sends us to the university. We will forever be one with the working class, forever serve as ordinary workers and never be spiritual aristocrats riding roughshod over the workers!

Respected and beloved Chairman Mao, you have pointed out many times: "We must guard against revisionism." The law of class struggle tells us that the principal contradiction in the entire historical period of socialism is the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the principal danger is revisionism, and the most dangerous figures are the people in power taking the capitalist road in the Party and representing the interests of the landlords and the bourgeoisie. The Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts whipped up by the unrepentant capitalist roader explains the existence of a revisionist line antagonistic to your revolutionary line. The ultimate aim of this revisionist line is to negate the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, to negate the socialist new things, to carry out vengeful counter-attacks and to restore capitalism. Should this revisionist line be in power, not only will our July 21 Workers' University be stifled and we workers be deprived again of the right to attend universities, but our Party will also become revisionist, our country will change its political color, and millions and millions of class brothers will be killed! Chairman Mao, Chairman Mao! Though we are at the banks of P'uchiang River, yet our hearts are turned toward you, the Red Sun! Our destiny is linked closely with your brilliant instructions and with your proletarian revolutionary line as fresh is with blood. We will resolutely wage a struggle with those opposing you and your revolutionary line. We will carry out this mass struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie through to the end!

"Once Huangyangchieh is passed, no other perilous place calls for a glance." There may be countless thunderstorms on our journey. They can never change our determination to carry out revolution through to the end. We firmly believe that with you guiding us to fight, the springtime of the proletarian revolution will forever belong to us!

We respectfully wish you a long, long life!

The entire body of students of the July 21 Workers' University of Shanghai Machine Tools Plant

February 13, 1976.

(NCNA dispatch from Shanghai, Feb. 20, 1976)

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Letter to the Great Leader Chairman Mao from All Delegates to the Congress of the First Group of Educated Youths Settled in the Countryside of Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao March 7, 1976)

Respected and beloved great leader Chairman Mao:

The first congress of educated youths settled in the countryside of Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region has opened in an excellent situation in which the great struggle launched and led personally by you to repulse the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts is developing in depth. In response to your great call, we 830 delegates of Uighur, Kazakh, Han, Hui, Mongolian, Khalkhas, Tadzhik, Sibo, Uzbek, Tahur, Manchu and Tartar nationalities from the rural and pastoral areas north and south of the T'ienshan Mountains have rushed to the battlefront to condemn verbally and in writing the revisionist program of taking the "three directives" as the key link and to open fierce fire at the unrepentant capitalist roaders within the Party! At a time when the great struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines is taking place, we educated youths of all nationalities fighting on the frontiers of our motherland to oppose revisionism are eagerly thinking of you. Tens of thousands of words could not express our profound feelings toward you!

Our respected and beloved Chairman Mao; amid the triumphant songs of the great proletarian cultural revolution, you issued the great call "It is very necessary for educated young people to go to the countryside to be re-educated by the poor and lower-middle peasants." It is like a morning wind filling the sails and like a beacon light illuminating our course. March! We have settled down in the pastoral areas. March! We have taken root in the countryside. At the forefront of class struggles, we have braved storms; in the great cause of building socialist new rural areas we have fought against adverse natural conditions and painted a new picture; on the heavily fortified anti-revisionist front, we have firmly gripped our guns to fight against jackals and wolves. The sandstorms of the Gobi Desert have tempered our revolutionary will; the cold currents of Siberia have whipped up our fighting spirit.

Chairman Mao: Nurtured by your kindness and the warm concern of the poor and lower-middle peasants and herdsmen, a generation of new peasants and herdsmen with socialist consciousness and culture is blooming everywhere on the vast frontiers. In our ranks comprising the children of the people of all nationalities, more than 5,600 have honorably joined the CCP, more than 47,000 have joined the CYL and more than 23,000 have been selected to assume leading posts at various levels. Many of us have become instructors of theoretical study, literary and art propagandists, barefoot doctors and school teachers.

Chairman Mao: Under your guidance, the revolutionary forerunners eliminated the three big mountains of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism and opened the world for the proletariat. We will take over the sharp weapon of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought from the hands of our

predecessors, continuously clean up the vestiges of the old society and carry on the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat through to the end!

Around last summer, unrepentant capitalist roaders within the Party stubbornly adhered to the revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao and dished up the revisionist program "taking the three directives as the key link." They flagrantly launched an all-out attack against the proletariat. This struggle is a great fight between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, a continuation and deepening of the struggle between your proletarian revolutionary line and the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, and a continuation and deepening of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. It concerns the future and destiny of our Party and state. The educated youths' going to the countryside is a profound socialist revolution. It has blocked the old road of the concept that "he who excels in learning can be an official" of the exploiting classes. This will naturally meet with opposition by revisionists, sabotage by class enemies and obstruction by old traditional forces. Those who stirred up the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts advocated "selecting outstanding middle school students and admitting them into universities directly" and vainly attempted to make use of and expand bourgeois rights, lead youths back to the erroneous road of "becoming divorced from proletarian politics, from the worker and peasant masses and from practice," negate the revolution in education, oppose the settlement of educated youths in the countryside, strangle socialist new things, reverse the correct appraisal of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and restore capitalism. How can we tolerate this? Our growth is closely linked with the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, and our fate is closely related with your revolutionary line.

You pointed out recently: "What 'Taking the three directives as the key link!' Stability and unity do not mean writing off class struggle; class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it." Your important instruction is a powerful ideological weapon and has pointed out the direction for the struggle to repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts. We are determined to thoroughly smash the flagrant attack by unrepentant capitalist roaders within the Party and fight to defend and develop the victorious achievements of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution under the kind concern and leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by you and under the centralized leadership of Party committees at various levels.

Respected and beloved Chairman Mao: Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region is a place where people of more than ten nationalities have lived for many generations. It is the anti-revisionist front in the northwest of our great socialist motherland. The main danger to Sinkiang comes from Soviet modern revisionism. We youths of all nationalities have deeply realized the heavy and glorious burden on our shoulders and the difficult road ahead. We will conscientiously, painstakingly and continuously study Marxist-Leninist works and your works, study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, continue to criticize Confucius, criticize Water Margin, take class struggle as the key link, keep to the Party's basic line, fear no sacrifice, surmount every difficulty, and fight vigorously to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat in the heroic spirit of "We can clasp the

moon in the Ninth Heaven and seize turtles deep down in the Five Seas."

In the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture and build Tachai-type counties throughout the country, we will unite and fight together with the masses of poor and lower-middle peasants and herdsmen of all nationalities, vigorously criticize revisionism and capitalism, go all out for socialism, work toward communism, build the communes, production brigades and farms where we are staying into Tachai-type units as quickly as possible, and turn Sinkiang into an impregnable steel wall in combating and preventing revisionism. If the enemies dare to invade, we will certainly bury them in the vast ocean of people's war!

Respected and beloved Chairman Mao: With you as the helmsman in the revolution, we feel incomparable happiness, are full of courage and have unlimited strength and our future is extremely bright. We will use our revolutionary action of persistently staying in the countryside and doing farm work to smash the fond dream of imperialism, revisionism and reactionaries who vainly attempt to change our political color! We will resolutely fulfill our great historical task entrusted to us by the epoch and let our youth shine out with greater splendor in the struggle to destroy the old world and realize the long-range goal of communism.

"Nothing is hard in this world if you dare to scale the heights." Your majestic and magnificent verses will forever encourage us to valiantly march forward!

We respectfully wish you a long long life!

All delegates at the First Congress of
Educated youths Settled in the Countryside
of Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region

February 27, 1976

* * *

Letter to the Great Leader Chairman Mao by College Graduates in Hopei Province Who Have Come or Returned to the Countryside to Serve as Peasants

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao March 13, 1976)

Respected and beloved great leader Chairman Mao:

In the great struggle personally initiated and led by you to beat back the Right deviationist wind of reversing verdicts and to relentlessly criticize the unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party, the CCP Hopei Provincial Committee has called us--26 college graduates of Hopei Province who have come and returned to the countryside to serve as peasants--to hold a discussion meeting. We have conscientiously studied your teaching "What 'Taking the three directives as the key link!' Stability and unity do not mean writing off class struggle; class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it," deeply criticized the revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link" dished up by the unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party, and dealt a telling blow at the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts. On March 5, a day of great historical significance, we came to Hsipaipo, a sacred place of the revolution where you lived and fought in the past. At the site where the second plenum of the 7th National CCP Congress was held, we restudied your shining document, "Report to the Second Plenum of the Seventh CCP Central Committee." Standing on Paipo ridge and looking in the direction of Tienanmen, we recalled the revolutionary fighting course and thought of our brilliant prospects. We were filled with emotion and pride. Even if we used all of the water of the Pohai Sea as ink and all of the vast land of North China as paper, we would find them inadequate for writing and expressing our boundless love and loyalty to you!

On this day 27 years ago, you far-sightedly and specifically pointed out: After the whole country's political power is seized, the principal contradiction at home is "the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie." This scientific thesis laid the theoretical foundation of the Party's basic line and policy in the historical period of socialism. It was a new clarion call for advance, inspiring us to fight against the bourgeoisie; like a beacon light, it illuminates our course of continued revolution. When we restudied this sincere teaching of yours with the current struggle between the two classes in mind, we felt it exceptionally warm and boundlessly wise.

Respected and beloved Chairman Mao! It is you who led the whole Party and Chinese people to topple the three big mountains and enable the new China to stand majestically in the east of the world; it is you who led us, with the revolutionary spirit of "the Red Army fears not the trials of the Long March," to start our new long march on the socialist road, to overcome one storm after another, and repulse one rampant attack after another waged by the bourgeoisie. One struggle resulted in victory, which was closely followed by another struggle. In the excellent situation in which the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution won a great victory and the movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat deepened and developed, the unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party dished up the revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link" in a vain attempt to change the Party's basic line and restore capitalism.

If he should succeed in his intrigue, our Party and country would change their color and millions of people would be slaughtered. What a dangerous situation that would be! At that crucial moment you perceived everything and issued in good time the important directive "Class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it," thus lighting the fire of beating back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts. The soul-stirring class struggle has further convinced us: In the historical period of socialism, the principal contradiction is the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie; the main danger is revisionism; the target of revolution is the bourgeoisie, and the key points are those in power in the Party taking the capitalist road. We are determined to follow your instruction, firmly "grasp class struggle as the key link," and vehemently attack the unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party both by word of mouth and in writing. We will carry the struggle to beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts through to the end! We will carry on the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat through to the end!

Respected and beloved Chairman Mao! During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution personally initiated and led by you, we, young fighters of the Red Guards, joined the people throughout the country in destroying the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao. In response to your great call "Young people with education should go to the countryside," we set out in high spirits for the vast rural areas to make in revolution. Inspired by your shining "July 21 directive," we, with the heavy responsibility entrusted by the proletariat, with happy tears in our eyes, entered new-type sociaist universities. In the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, we criticized "he who excels in learning can be an official," "the theory of studying in order to become an official," "a disguised reform through labor" and other reactionary fallacies. We criticized the ideas of bourgeois rights and voiced determination to be peasants upon graduating from universities. Around last summer, while we were making great strides along the "July 21" road, a Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts started to blow in the education field. They openly raved: "It is necessary to select good middle school students and directly send them into universities," and "if workers and peasants are trained in universities, that will be the end of these universities." They slandered college students serving as peasants, calling it "ultraleftism" and "doing communist things in the period of socilaism." In the face of their vicious attacks and heavy pressure, we repeatedly studied your important directive on the question of theory and restudied your instructions on the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Your directive and instructions gave us tremendous strength and encouraged us to fight against them and be models in restricting bourgeois rights and trailblazers in narrowing the differences between workers and peasants, town and country and mental and manual work. We simply want to tear down the ladder which leads to the privileged stratum through universities and plug up the channel which trains intellectual aristocrats. We will beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts by actually becoming peasants after graduating from universities and by striking root in rural areas. Repeated storms of class struggle have deeply convinced us: Our destiny is closely connected with your revolutionary line, and our growth is inseparable from the great cultural revolution. Whoever opposes you, whoever opposes your revolutionary line, we will fight him to the end any time and any where!

The east wind nurtures the growth of spring sprouts. College graduates serving as peasants is a young shoot of communism. Like other new socialist things, it will sprout and grow sturdily in the storm of class struggle. A cold current in early spring can never stop the arrival of spring when a hundred flowers will be in full bloom. With the prevalence of your proletarian revolutionary line, spring is everywhere and lasts forever in our great socialist motherland! We, the younger generation, are like spring sprouts sturdily growing under your sunshine!

Respected and beloved Chairman Mao! You have sincerely admonished us: "A very long historical period of time is needed to decide who will win in the revolution. If we fail, capitalist restoration will be possible at any time." In the current struggle between the two classes, we feel all the more deeply that "the Chinese revolution is great, but the road after the revolution will be longer, the work greater and more arduous." Please be reassured. We will live up to your earnest expectations on us, the younger generation. We will inherit the revolutionary cause of the proletariat created by the older generation. We will not allow the Red regime, which the revolutionary martyrs won with their lives and blood, to change its political color. We will assiduously study works by Marx and Lenin and your works, strive hard to raise our ability to distinguish genuine from sham Marxism, adhere to the correct orientation of integrating ourselves with workers and peasants, and become successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause. We will take class struggle as the key link, adhere to the Party's basic line, arduously learn from Tachai, and fight against and transform nature. We will hold the red banner high, combat and prevent revisionism, bravely march forward by overcoming all difficulties, and devote our blossoming youth to the splendid communist cause!

We respectfully wish you a long, long life!

College graduates in Hopei Province who have come or returned to the countryside to be peasants:

Ma Hsin-nung (马新农)	Teng Lin (邓琳)
Wang Wu-ti (王五的)	Wang Han-chieh (王汉杰)
Wang Chih-nung (王志农)	Wang Hsiao-sung (王晓松)
Kung Yu-lan (孔玉兰)	Liu Wen-ying (刘文英)
Liu Ts'un-chiang (刘存江)	Liu Ying-shu (刘英树)
Liu Hung-chuang (刘洪庄)	Liu Kuei-hua (刘桂华)
Liu Fu-li (刘福丽)	Ai Huai-sheng (艾怀生)
Shen Hsueh-nung (申学农)	Jen Yung-chang (任永昌)
Li Kuei-lien (李桂莲)	Li Su-chen (李素珍)
Chen Shu-min (陈树民)	Chang Chung-min (张忠民)
Chang Hui-min (张惠民)	Yang Hsiao-min (杨晓民)
Cheng Hsin-chiu (郑新秋)	Hu Mei-lan (胡美兰)
Chiang Heng (姜恒)	Chia Wang-ching (贾旺清)

Hsipaipo, March 5, 1976

(NCNA dispatch from Shihchiachuang, March 12, 1976)

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Letter Paying Homage to the Great Leader Chairman Mao from Ten Worker-Peasant-Soldier Graduates of Heilungkiang Agricultural Development University

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao March 20, 1976)

Respected and beloved great leader Chairman Mao:

In the heat of the struggle, which you personally initiated and led, to beat back the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts, the ten of us, worker-peasant-soldier graduates of Heilungkiang Agricultural Development University, brave the storm of class struggle and are filled with combatant vigor. We will soon return to the countryside to carry out revolution and serve as socialist new peasants. At this incomparably happy and exciting moment, we are standing on the frontierland and looking toward Peking. There are so many things that we want to tell you!

At present, the struggle to hit back at the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts is advancing with an irresistible force and developing in depth. "What 'Taking the three directives as the key link'! Stability and unity do not mean writing off class struggle; class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it." Learning this brilliant instruction of yours and looking back over the facts of class struggle and two-line struggle in the three months of July, August and September last year, we have come to understand more clearly the nature, aim and significance of this struggle. In response to your great call and under the guidance of the university Party committee, we rise up and fight shoulder to shoulder, launch mass debates on the revolution in education and criticize severely the revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link" pushed by the unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party. We want to completely smash their evanescent dream of restoring capitalism, fight to safeguard the fruits of victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and defend your proletarian revolutionary line. The acute struggle between the two classes and the two lines has stimulated our combatant vigor to go against the revisionist line of education, and has consolidated our determination and confidence to carry out thorough rupture with the old ideas and to become peasants upon graduation from the university.

Respected and beloved Chairman Mao: We are educated youths who have come to mountainous areas and the countryside from Tienanmen, from the banks of the P'uchiang River and the Sungari River. In the days when we are waging a struggle against the unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party, we look back over the combatant course we have gone through, and over every victory we have won. It makes us think more of you. Under your guidance, we wore arm bands of the Red Guards and, together with the people of the whole country, raised high the revolutionary banner that it is justified to rebel against the reactionaries, trampled underfoot the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao and ushered in the resplendent springtime of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Under your guidance, we came to the frontier areas in northeast China, which are anti-revisionist outposts. We stepped onto the revolutionary road of integrating ourselves with the workers and peasants and grew up and matured in the vast countryside. Under your guidance, we, children of workers and peasants who had been looked down upon in the past, became university students. In the struggle of "attending,

managing and transforming the university," we steadfastly learn from Tachai in agriculture, learn from Ch'aoyang College of Agriculture, severely criticize feudalism, capitalism and revisionism, thereby gaining rich fruits for the revolution in education. Our destiny is related to your proletarian revolutionary line as flesh is to blood. We will advance forever in the direction of Marxism-Leninism indicated by you.

That university students should become peasants is, in the eyes of the bourgeois overlords, a rebellions action. For thousands of years, all exploiting classes had all along looked upon "those excelling in learning should be officials" as an unalterable rule. Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao had echoed Confucius in advocating the reactionary trash of the "theory of studying in order to become an official." In order to push the revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link," negate the dictatorship of the proletariat, stifle the socialist new things, extend bourgeois rights, carry out activities to restore capitalism, the unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party again picked out from the Confucian store such shopworn goods as "those excelling in learning should become officials." They called the posting of university graduates as peasants an "ultra-left" deed aimed at "seeking the limelight." Their sinister intention is to lure people into taking attending university as a means for getting high positions and handsome wages and as a ladder for climbing up the tower of spiritual aristocracy. We worker-peasant-soldier students just want to go in the opposite direction. We will serve as peasants upon graduation from university! The socialist society is "the period of struggle between the capitalism on the decline and the communism on the ascendent." Only by consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, restricting bourgeois rights, developing the socilaist new things, expanding the communist factors can we gradually sweep away the soil breeding capitalism and revisionism and insure that the proletarian red regime will never change its political color. We worker-peasant-soldier students just want to pull down the ladder of "studying in order to become an official," to break thoroughly with the old ideas, to become peasants after graduation from university, to dedicate our lifetime to building a new countryside, to narrow down the three major differences with our practical action and to open a bright road leading to communism.

Respected and beloved Chairman Mao: In the inscription in memory of the founding of the North Shensi Public School, you taught us that "It is necessary to train a large number of people from the vanguard of the revolution. These people possess political foresight and are replete with the spirit for struggle and sacrifice. They are candid, honest, positive and upright. They have no selfish ends and they solely work for national and social liberation. They fear no difficulties, and they always move forward steadfastly and bravely when confronted with difficulties. They are not vainglorious, not people fond of limelight, but are down-to-earth people with a practical mind. There must be a large number of such vanguards in China before the tasks of revolution can be smoothly resolved in China." Today, in the combat to hit back at the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts, and in the moment when we are graduated from university, are about to return to the first line of the three major revolutionary movements in the countryside

and are determined to become socialist new peasants, we review this teaching of yours. We feel it all the more dear to us and we are greatly inspired and encouraged by it. Although there may be countless thunderstorms on our new journey, we will sing aloud and advance forever in the direction you have charted for us. We are determined to do farming and learn from Tachai in agriculture, strike roots deep in the frontierland, raise high the great red flag of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and strive for the communist cause.

We respectfully wish you a long, long life!

First Group of Ten Worker-Peasant-Soldier Graduates from the Agriculture Department of Heilungkiang Agricultural Development University:

Lu Hung-chu	(陆红珠)	Fang Hsiang-tung	(方向东)
Chao Jang	(赵让)	Cheng Ch'i	(郑琦)
Meng K'e	(孟克)	Ho Yung-hua	(何永华)
Yao Ch'ün	(姚群)	Yüan Tung	(袁东)
Pao Ling-hsün	(鲍令逊)	Ko Chi-li	(葛继力)

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Letter to the Great Leader Chairman Mao by the Whole Body of Representatives of the Congress of Advanced Groups and Individuals of Anshan Iron and Steel Company in Thoroughly Implementing the Charter of Anshan Iron and Steel Company and in Learning from Tach'ing in Industry

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao March 24, 1976)

Respected and beloved great leader Chairman Mao:

In the great struggle to beat back the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts, we workers of Anshan Iron and Steel Company, full of revolutionary emotion and pride, have ushered in the 16th anniversary of the birth of the "Charter of Anshan Iron and Steel Company" approved by you. We iron and steel workers are enthusiastically and conscientiously studying the important instructions recently issued by you. We criticize the revisionist line pushed and various absurdities spread by the unrepentant capitalist-roader within the Party. Reviewing the past and looking into the future, we, the more than 1,100 representatives attending the Congress of Advanced Groups and Individuals in Thoroughly Implementing the Charter of Anshan Iron and Steel Company and in Learning from Tach'ing in Industry called by the Party committee and the revolutionary committee of Anshan Iron and Steel Company, simmer with enthusiasm like molten steel. We have a thousand and one things to say, which can be boiled down to a steel-like oath: We resolutely carry through to the end the great struggle to beat back the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts. We will fight to safeguard your proletarian revolutionary line. We will raise high the banner of the "Charter of Anshan Iron and Steel Company" in scaling new heights!

We will never forget that Anshan Iron and Steel Company owes its every victory to your kind concern and the guidance of your proletarian revolutionary line and that its every step forward is replete with violent class struggle and two-line struggle. In struggle, Anshan Iron and Steel Company is growing and advancing. In the early days after the founding of the People's Republic of China, we acted on your instructions, gave full play to the leading role of the working class and rapidly restored and built Anshan Iron and Steel Company on the ruins of what had been seriously destroyed by imperialism and the Kuomintang reactionary group, thus silencing the enemy's mad cry that "the "Anshan Iron and Steel Company can be used only to grow sorghum." In 1952, you, in a letter to us, praised and supported our militancy and initiative. In 1953, you cabled us congratulations urging us to make continuous efforts, pool collective wisdom and strength and score still greater achievements. In 1959, you again pointed out to us the need of fighting the Right deviation and working with all-out efforts, and called on us to resolutely fight against Right opportunism to the end. On this day, 16 years ago, you summed up the experience of socialist revolution and socialist construction at home and abroad, personally approved the "Charter of Anshan Iron and Steel Company," and affirmed the principle of doggedly putting politics in command, strengthening Party leadership, vigorously launching the mass movement, practicing "cadre participation in productive labor and worker participation in management; reform of irrational and outdated rules and regulations; close cooperation among cadres, workers and technicians," and vigorously carrying out technical innovation and technical revolution. You solemnly declared: "The Charter of Anshan Iron and Steel

Company has appeared in the Far East and in China." Thus we had our own fundamental great charter for building socialist enterprises. The "Charter of Anshan Iron and Steel Company" is a powerful ideological weapon for the exercise of all-round dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie in socialist enterprises. Like an illuminating beacon, it lights up the rosy future of our country's road to industrialization.

We workers were filled with infinite joy over the birth of the "Charter of Anshan Iron and Steel Company." But with its vicious aim to restore capitalism, the Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao anti-Party clique, teaming up with Soviet revisionism in a big anti-China chorus, vilified the "Charter of Anshan Iron and Steel Company" in a hundred and one ways, tried all possible means to resist and disrupt it, desperately pushed the rules and regulations of the Magnitogorsk Iron and Steel Combine of the Soviet Union, and exercised the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over the working class by vigorously promoting the "one chief system,""management of factories by specialists," "cash awards in command," "material incentives," and "control, strangling and suppression." This brought about the situation of a standstill in iron and steel output. It was the intense fire of the great proletarian cultural revolution personally ignited by you that destroyed the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao and thoroughly criticized their revisionist line and enabled the "Charter of Anshan Iron and Steel Company" to shine brightly. The "Charter of Anshan Iron and Steel Company" illuminated the road along which Anshan Iron and Steel Company advanced in big strides. A big change in revolution and production resulted. In response to your great call, "China ought to make a greater contribution to humanity," we in 1970 put forward the combat oath to transform Anshan Iron and Steel Company and achieve a big leap forward in iron and steel output; we raised high the banner of "the Charter of Anshan Iron and Steel Company" and vigorously launched the mass movement. In 1971, iron and steel output surpassed the highest level in history. An end was put to the situation of a standstill in iron and steel output. Honor was won for the socialist motherland and for the working class! The great proletarian cultural revolution inspired the people to advance in high spirits and firm determination and to carry out revolution and production enthusiastically and vigorously. A large contingent of Marxist theorists was growing stoutly. A number of workers who had been tempered in struggle joined the three-in-one leading squads combining the old, the middle-aged and the young. The working class grasped the line and took charge of important affairs and really became the master of socialist enterprises. All these achievements were great results of the implementation of your revolutionary line. Practice of struggle makes us realize more deeply that the great proletarian cultural revolution is "entirely necessary and most timely" and that the "Charter of Anshan Iron and Steel Company" is a beacon light guiding us to manage socialist enterprises well.

You recently pointed out: "Reversing verdicts goes against the will of the people." Your words have given full expression to our burning wish to oppose restoration and regression and persist in continuing the revolution. The unrepentant capitalist-roader within the Party takes the lead in whipping up the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts. He puts forth the revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link," negates taking class struggle as the key link and alters the Party's basic line in a vain attempt to bring about overall restoration of capitalism in China.

He talks such nonsense as "the enterprises have many problems," "they won't work if they are not reorganized," "they can hardly break with their bad habits of long standing," etc., and pictured the excellent situation on the industrial front as being in a mess. He madly cried for a "reorganization" for the purpose of reversing verdicts, seeking restoration and getting rid of the "Charter of Anshan Iron and Steel Company" and reinstating the rules and regulations of the Magnitogorsk Iron and Steel Combine of the Soviet Union. This is a flagrant denial of your proletarian revolutionary line, reversal of the correct appraisal of the great cultural revolution and settlement of accounts with the great cultural revolution. Over this, we iron and steel workers are filled with infinite indignation. Facts are the best evidence. Since the great proletarian cultural revolution, our workers of Anshan Iron and Steel Company, taking class struggle as the key link, have thoroughly implemented the "Charter of Anshan Iron and Steel Company" and unfolded in depth the movement "to learn from Tach'ing in industry." With the energetic support from fraternal units, we have succeeded in a very short period of time in building large-scale iron mines and making large-sized blast furnaces, large-sized converters and 10,000-cubic-meter oxygen generators and accomplishing many major projects. The production capacity of many old enterprises has far exceeded the designed capacity. Ore output is doubled. Iron and Steel production shows big-margin increases. Today, Anshan Iron and Steel Company of today is in an unprecedentedly excellent situation. This is a strong beat back at the unrepentant capitalist-roader within the Party!

"Nothing is hard in this world if you dare to scale the heights." This heroic and beautiful verse of yours has given us infinite strength and fortified our confidence in a sure victory. In this struggle, we will conscientiously study well the series of your important directives and strive to transform our world outlook and to raise our consciousness of class struggle and of continuing the revolution. Under the Party's leadership, we will firmly grip the general orientation of the struggle, get united and concentrate efforts on criticizing the revisionist line upheld by the unrepentant capitalist-roader within the Party. We will "grasp revolution and stimulate production" and produce more and better steel for the sake of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. We will guard against the class enemy's disruption of the revolution by disrupting production. We will use the brilliant results in revolution and production to hit back at those who want to discredit the great cultural revolution, and take solid action to beat back the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts.

Respected and beloved Chairman Mao, we workers want to criticize the old world and create a new world. With you leading us in battle, we can surely conquer all evil winds and waves and triumph over any obstacles and hazards. In the spirit of the "Charter of Anshan Iron and Steel Company" and with Tach'ing as our example, we will continue to speed up our pace of transforming and building Anshan Iron and Steel Company, build Anshan Iron and Steel Company into a fortified position of the dictatorship of

the proletariat and make new contributions toward the socialist revolution and socialist construction of the motherland.

Long live the victory of the "Charter of Anshan Iron and Steel Company"!

We respectfully wish you a long, long life!

The whole body of representatives of the Congress of Advanced Groups and Individuals of Anshan Iron and Steel Company in Thoroughly Implementing the Charter of Anshan Iron and Steel Company and in Learning from Tach'ing in Industry

March 22, 1976

(NCNA dispatch from Shenyang, March 23, 1976)

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Letter to the Great Leader Chairman Mao from the Educated Youths Who Have Come or Returned to the "Plenty of Room To Develop Talents" People's Commune

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao, March 25, 1976)

Respected and beloved great leader Chairman Mao:

Personally initiated and led by your, a mighty struggle to hit back at the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts is victoriously developing throughout the country. "Wind and thunder are stirring, flags and banners are flying wherever men live." In this great combat between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, we the whole body of educated young people who have come or returned to the "Plenty of Room To Develop Talents" People's Commune in Chia county, Honan Province, are raising high the banner and, in a tumult of feeling, solemnly give our pledge to you: We will fight valiantly to defend your proletarian revolutionary line!

Around summer last year, the unrepentant capitalist roader within the Party cast forth the revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link," frenziedly launched an all-out attack on the proletariat and whipped up a gust of Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts on the battle-fronts of education, science and technology, and literature and art. The principal content of their activity of reversing verdicts includes opposing the taking of class struggle as the key link, altering the Party's basic line and negating the great proletarian cultural revolution. It has a theory and a program and is organized. However, because this activity goes against the tide of history and aims at practicing revisionism and reversing the correct appraisal of the great cultural revolution, it fails to win the support of the people and is extremely isolated. Like the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, we educated young people can no longer tolerate it. This serious class struggle concerns the future and destiny of the Party and the country as well as the future and destiny of us educated young people. The moment the battledrum for striking back at the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts was sounded, we, filled with proletarian anger, joined in the battle and levelled fierce criticism by word of mouth and in writing against the unrepentant capitalist roader within the Party!

Respected and beloved Chairman Mao! We are educated young people of the socialist era, and we have the courage to swim against the tide. For thousands of years people have been saying, "he who excels in study should become an official." Confucius said this, Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao said this in a different way, and the unrepentant capitalist roader within the Party is saying the same thing though in a different tone. Such things as "It is necessary to select good middle school students and to promote them directly to universities" are evidently a fresh reproduction of "he who excels in study should become an official" as advocated by Confucius, or the theory of "studying in order to become an official" peddled by Liu Shao-ch'i, and the theory of "reform through labor in disguise" pushed by Lin Piao. This evidently opposes the revolution in education and negates the socialist new thing of sending educated young people to the mountains and rural areas. This evidently aims at leading our educated young people astray and serving their restoration of capitalism. We educated young people will definitely not allow them to do this!

They say, "he who excels in study should become an official," but we just want to go against that and become workers with both socialist consciousness and culture. We have no blind faith in that kind of university. In our opinion, true ability and knowledge must be obtained from the practice of the three great revolutionary movements. This is why we have boundless love for the vast countryside, which is a university of a large scale. How big is our classroom? It extends as far as the vast land under the sun; it is at the foot of green hills and by the side of blue waters. What kind of books do we study? Our books are on drawing of class lines, distinction between the enemies and ourselves, soil improvement and construction of water conservancy projects. Who are our teachers? They are the poor and lower-middle "old peasants' associations," "the old, red peasants," "the commune enthusiasts" and "those who are lenient in management." It is in this kind of university that we have weathered storms, faced the world and matured from youngsters knowing nothing about classes and class struggle into trail-blazers of class struggle and fighters in continuing the revolution. Among us are Party members who give up their salaries but work for wagepoints after taking the posts of state cadres; Communist Youth League members who have returned to the countryside upon graduation from the university to work as peasants; advanced personages who refuse to accept work offers from other localities but persist in striking roots in the rural areas; outstanding young people who determined to take up farming and would not turn back despite winds and storms. How delightful it is to see a generation of new peasants with both socialist consciousness and culture growing up and maturing in the vast countryside today. It is precisely in this kind of university that we vigorously criticize revisionism and capitalism, practice socialism and, through tempering, turn ourselves one by one from people whose four limbs are unaccustomed to labor and who cannot tell one kind of grain from another into red and expert fighters, experts in the struggle for production and pace-setters in scientific experiments who join the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants in fighting against heaven and earth. Grain output of the commune has fulfilled the demands of the "program" and crossed the "Yangtze River." Per-mow yield of grain exceeded 1,730 catties last year. However, regarding our victory, the unrepentant capitalist roader within the Party has nevertheless kept "diverting" us. Where does he want to "divert" us to? They want to "divert" us back to tall buildings and wide campuses and turn us into their successors in restoring capitalism. How can we tolerate this! Our reply is: We will struggle against the revisionist line! We must struggle against it until it is smashed into smithereens and until the world is turned upside down.

Respected and beloved Chairman Mao! You pointed out in the period of the democratic revolution: "The intellectuals will accomplish nothing if they fail to integrate themselves with the workers and peasants." During the period of socialist revolution, you wrote a brilliant introductory note on the article "The Experience of a Township in Planning Cooperation" for the Talichuang village, the predecessor of our commune, "All intellectuals who can work in the countryside should be happy to go there. Our countryside is vast and has plenty of room for them to develop their talents to the full." While the great proletarian cultural revolution was advancing victoriously, you again issued a great call, "It is highly necessary for young people with education to go to the countryside to be re-educated by the poor and lower-middle peasants." Like a bright beacon light, this series of your important

instructions illuminate the victorious course of the youth movement in China. This is of tremendous real significance as well as far-reaching historical significance in training and bringing up millions of successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat, combating and guarding against revisionism, consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, restricting bourgeois rights, diminishing the three major differences and speeding up the construction of a socialist new countryside. We educated young people battling in "Plenty of Room To Develop Talents" People's Commune which was named after your brilliant introductory note are infinitely honored and proud.

For the past twenty years, with your revolutionary line guiding our course and with your brilliant thinking illuminating our way, we raised high the red banner in battle and advanced against the winds and storms. When Liu Shao-ch'i sprang out to peddle the black goods of "studying in order to become an official" and "going to the countryside to acquire a veneer of gold" and attempted to undermine the implementation of your brilliant introductory note "Our countryside is wide and has plenty of room," a group of the educated young people of our commune dared to sail against the wind, resolutely returned to the countryside, struck roots there and worked against the revisionist line! When Lin Piao leaped out and rabidly yelled the fallacy of "reform through labor in disguise" and when Lin Piao and his gang were attempting to cut down this red banner, the "Plenty of Room To Develop Talents" People's Commune, our revolutionary educated young people daringly went up the slope, resolutely went to the countryside to make revolution, and worked against their revisionist line in defense of this banner named after your brilliant introductory note. The moment the bugle call for criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius was sounded, we, with the close concern of the CCP Central Committee headed by you, smashed the concept of "he who excels in study should become an official" advocated by the exploiting classes, established a new style of "studying in order to serve agriculture" and worked against the reactionary doctrines of Confucius and Mencius! Last year, when the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts was whipped up, we cleared our eyes with the theory of class struggle, armed our minds with the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and, by the solid action of grasping class struggle, held off the influence of the revisionist line and developed and strengthened socialist new things. This is how we have struggled tit for tat and worked against the revisionist line which opposes your revolutionary line!

At present, under your wise leadership, over a thousand educated young people of our commune are getting together with the broad masses of poor and middle peasants, aiming the spearhead of struggle at the unrepentant capitalist roader within the Party and making use of special columns of revolutionary mass criticism to form an ocean for washing away the revisionist line. With their iron fists which they use to deal telling blows at the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts, they are building a steel wall for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. From the more than a thousand educated young people in our commune, we can see the sound growth of the millions of educated young people all over the country and the growth of a generation of successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat. We have every reason to proclaim thus: When it was still a young bud, this new thing of sending educated young people to the mountains and rural areas

nevertheless could not be strangulated. Now this young bud has already grown into a forest today, the unrepentant capitalist roader within the Party can only be dreaming if he replays the old tricks and harps the old tune of preventing history from advancing.

Respected and beloved Chairman Mao! You have patiently taught us that "We must guard against the appearance of revisionism." In the past, we have been working against the revisionist line every step of the way and returned amid triumphant song and laughter. In the future, the road of the revolution is still very long, storms of struggles are numerous and may occur ten or twenty times and continue for one or two centuries. "Already our defense is iron-clad; now our wills unite like a fortress." Like the trees we planted when we returned to the countryside, we are determined to strike roots deeply in the rich soil of the poor and lower-middle peasants and to withstand thunderstorms and grade twelve typhoons! We will seriously study the works of Marx and Lenin and your brilliant writings, take class struggle as the key link, adhere to the Party's basic line and use the great victory of perseveringly staying in the countryside to bitterly hit back the Right-deviation wind to reverse verdicts. We will struggle against the revisionist line until communism is realized!

We respectfully wish you a long, long life!

The entire body of educated young people who have come or returned to the "Plenty of Room To Develop Talents" People's Commune in Chia county, Honan Province

March 15, 1976

(NCNA Chengchou, March 25, 1976)

* * *

Letter to the Great Leader Chairman Mao from 60 College Graduates of Various Nationalities in Kansu Province Who Have Returned to the Countryside to Serve as Peasants or Herdsmen

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao March 29, 1976)

Respected and beloved great leader Chairman Mao:

In the excellent situation in which the struggle personally initiated and led by you to beat back the Right deviationist wind of reversing verdicts has been developing vigorously, the CCP Kansu Provincial Committee recently called a provincewide discussion meeting of college graduates who had come or returned to the countryside to serve as peasants or herdsmen. At the meeting, we conscientiously studied your teaching: "What 'Taking the three directives as the key link'! Stability and unity do not mean writing off class struggle; class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it." Taking class struggle as the key link, we scathingly criticized the revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link" dished up by the unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party. Through study and participation in the great struggle to beat back the Right deviationist wind of reversing verdicts, we have come to a clearer understanding that throughout the historical period of socialism the principal contradiction is the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the main danger is revisionism, the target of the revolution is the bourgeoisie and the main point is the Party persons in power taking the capitalist road. To defend your proletarian revolutionary line, we dare to climb a mountain of swords or plunge into a sea of flames. We vow to carry the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat through to the end!

In accordance with your instructions, we earnestly studied the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat last spring. Thus, we came to profoundly realize that your brilliant "July 21 Directive" and your great call for "educated young people to go to the countryside" are important measures to combat and prevent revisionism and an important way to train millions of successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat.

When we graduated from college last summer, the Right deviationist wind of reversing verdicts was first stirred up in educational circles. The Right deviationists openly clamored that, "schools used to train workers and peasants should be closed." They slandered the engagement of college graduates in farming as "ultraleftist" and "socialism doing the job of communism." In the face of their vicious attacks and heavy pressure, 34 of us were very sullen. Having limitless faith in you and your revolutionary line and acting against the adverse wind of reversing verdicts, we resolutely challenged bourgeois rights, opposed the old tradition of "a good scholar should become an official" and "studying in order to become officials," and became members of the first generation of new-type college-graduate peasants and herdsmen. After returning to rural and pastoral areas, we received resolute support and a warm welcome from the poor and lower-middle peasants and herdsmen, as well as from Party organizations at various levels. The poor

and lower-middle peasants and the old folks praised us as "good descendants of the poor and lower-middle peasants" and "new-type herdsmen at the foot of Chilien Mountain." In the past six months and more, we, 34 college graduates who have come or returned to the countryside, have faced the world and braved the storm in the vast rural areas, thus receiving a vivid education in class struggle and struggle between the two lines.

In the great movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture, we have worked hard and sweated together with the poor and lower-middle peasants and herdsmen. By so doing, we have ideologically tempered ourselves, passed tests and steeled our conviction in following the road of integrating ourselves with workers and peasants. Facts forcefully refute the shameless fallacies and prove that the road pointed out in the "July 21 directive" is infinitely broad and that our future is infinitely bright. The despicable attempt of that unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party to strangle new revolutionary things has already gone bankrupt. "Reversing verdicts goes against the will of the people." We are determined to "March toward a bright future." Even if that unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party should whip up a 12-grade typhoon, it still could not shake our determination to strike roots in the countryside.

Our respected and beloved Chairman Mao, in the current upsurge in beating back the Right deviationist wind of reversing verdicts, we are happy to report to you that another group of 26 college graduates have come or returned to the countryside to serve as peasants and herdsmen this year. We had a discussion meeting with them. While attending the meeting together, we were very much excited, with tears of happiness in our eyes and with boiling passion. But for you and your revolutionary line, how could we, descendants of "the muddy legs" and the slaves, have entered college? And how could we have become masters in attending, managing and transforming universities? Our respected and beloved Chairman Mao, the kindness you have bestowed us is heavier than Taishan Mountain and the happiness you have given us is deeper than the sea; even thousands of words cannot describe them sufficiently. When we look at Peking from the Kansu Plateau, you are much in our thoughts. We have so many words to tell you! On the eve of our departure for our fighting posts in the countryside, we 60 college graduates of Han, Tibetan, Mongol, Hui, Yuku, Kazakh and Korean nationalities, express, with boiling passion, our pledge to carry the revolution through to the end. We profoundly understand that the tasks you have assigned us the young people are arduous and glorious. To insure that our Party will not turn revisionist and our state will not change its political color, we vow to carry the red flag of the revolution, which our revolutionary predecessors have carried under your leadership, up to the peak of communism. We will conscientiously study Marxist-Leninist works and your writings. In the struggle to build Tachai-type counties, we will take class struggle as the key link, adhere to the Party's basic line, vigorously criticize revisionism and capitalism, and go all out for socialism. We will work hard to build, within two or three years, our communes and production brigades into advanced Tachai-type units. We will press boldly forward in consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and in building Kansu into a stronghold for combating and preventing revisionism. We will take practical action in combating and preventing revisionism under the guidance of your revolutionary line. Together with millions of revolutionary young people, we will form a mighty army to march toward the goal

of communism so that the fond dream of the reactionaries at home and abroad of pinning their hope of a "peaceful evolution" on us young people will go completely bankrupt!

Our respected and beloved Chairman Mao, there will be countless difficulties, obstacles and storms on our road of advance. But under the guidance of your revolutionary line, we will go against the adverse wind, brave violent waves, keep on fighting despite all setbacks and advance courageously. The footprints left on the snow-capped Minshan Mountain by the Workers and Peasants Red Army under your command on its Long March, the order you issued at Latzukou to advance, the sparkling Red lantern you lit at Hatapu and the song of victory sung by the Red Army units after triumphantly joining force at Huining City will always encourage us to clear away obstacles in our way and to march forward courageously.

We respectfully wish you a long, long life!

College graduates in Kansu who come or returned to the countryside to serve as peasants or herdsmen:

Liu Shuang-lan (刘双兰) Yang Ling-yun (杨凌云)
Hou Fu-sheng (侯富生) Hao Ying-wu (郝永武)
Niu Shou-chieh (牛守杰) Kao Hsu (高旭)
Wang Tseng-tang (王增堂) An Feng (安锋) (Yuku nationality)
Meng Chan-hui (蒙占辉) Hsu Yen-hsiang (徐彦祥)
Tuan Jui-ch'ang (段瑞昌) Kao Ming-k'o (高明科)
Fan Hsing-chen (樊兴祯) Pan Sheng-kung (潘生功)
Wei Chi-te (魏继德) Ch'i Shih-chia (祁世家)
Lo Ching-cheng (罗敬成) Hung Yen (Mongol) (红岩)
Liang Yu-hua (梁玉华) Ta-erh-ko-chia (塔尔格加) (Mongol)
Kou Hsing-ming (苟兴明) Ch'i Sheng-ch'ing (祁生卿)
Chou Ken-pen (周根本) Ch'en Chia-ch'ing (陈家庆)
Ch'en Chi-lung (陈继龙) Li Hsueh-hsin (李学信)
Wang Hung-hao (王鸿浩) Yang Tsuan (杨选)
Pan Chin (潘[illegible]) Chao Kuo-cheng (赵国[illegible])
Ch'en Huai-hsing (陈怀兴) Wang Tsung-shou (王宗寿)
Li Fu-hua (李富华) Fan Pin-kao (范品高)
Wang Tso-yao (王作尧) Pan Chen (Tibetan) (班展)
Pa-sang-tzu-jen (巴桑次仁) (Tibetan)
Miao Chi-hung (苗继红) Feng Cheng-lu (冯正禄)
Wu-ya-li (乌亚莉) (Hui nationality)
Li Ch'ang-jui (李昌瑞) (Korean)
Ma Tai (马泰) (Kazakh) Liang Hsi-lung (梁希龙)
Tseng Fan-jen (曾繁仁) Kao Chun-ts'ai (高俊才)
Chao Chun-lin (赵君林) Chou T'ung-hsiang (周同祥)
Sheng Wan-hsi (盛万喜) Chu Lin (朱林)
Yang Hai-yun (杨海云) (Tibetan)
Li Te-jung (李得荣) Shih Sheng-te (史生德)
Chang Yung-chih (张永志) (Tibetan)
So Lang (索朗) (Tibetan) So To (索多) (Tibetan)

Wang Yin-niu (王银牛) Teng Ken-hsu (邓根绪)
Li Wan-sheng (李万生) Ch'en Chin-shou (陈金寿)
Chang Tzu-an (张子安)

March 8, 1976

(NCNA dispatch from Lanchow, March 28, 1976)

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Letter to the Great Leader Chairman Mao from Worker-Peasant-Soldier Students of Tsinghua University, Peking University and Other Colleges and Educated Youths from Peking Who Have Come To Settle in Tibet

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao, April 4, 1976)

Respected and beloved great leader Chairman Mao:

In the excellent situation in which the struggle--a struggle initiated and led by you personally--to beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts is developing triumphantly throughout the country, we 104 graduating worker-peasant-soldier students of Tsinghua University, Peking University, Peking Medical College, Amoy University and Tsingtao Public Health School, and the first group of 15 educated youths from Peking Municipality coming to settle in Tibet--advancing in the orientation of the youth movement you have pointed out--have arrived at our fighting post, the new Tibet of our motherland, a place where we have been longing to stay. Our action shows the victory of your proletarian revolutionary line and is a forceful counter-attack against the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts.

Our action is supported by the workers, peasants and soldiers in various localities. Since our arrival in Tibet, we have been given a warm welcome by the Party organizations at all levels and the people of various nationalities in Tibet. What they support is your revolutionary line, and what they welcome are the new things which have emerged during the struggle to beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts. The support given us by the people fully shows that the people, the Party and its members in our socialist China definitely permit no restoration or regression and resolutely oppose the unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party who stirred up the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts; they are determined to push the socialist revolution forward along your revolutionary line!

Respected and beloved Chairman Mao, we have travelled not only the Tsinghai-Tibet highway, but also a necessary road for combating and preventing revisionism and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, a road you showed us long ago. Our resoluteness in taking such a road today is inseparable from your teachings. You have repeatedly admonished us: "Class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it." It is precisely in the storm of class struggle that we temper ourselves and grow. The majority of us have been tempered by the great proletarian cultural revolution and have resolutely struggled under your leadership against capitalist roaders in the Party such as Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao. In the course of settling in the countryside, we have been re-educated by the poor and lower-middle peasants and the working class. By taking part in the three great revolutionary movements, we have greatly raised our consciousness of class struggle and struggle between the two lines and have narrowed the gap between us and the workers and peasants in thinking and feeling. Several years ago, the Party and the people assigned us to the education front to take part in the battle of "attending, managing and transforming the colleges." In the course of various political movements, such as criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius, studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and criticizing Water Margin, and under the leadership

of the school Party committees, we studied Marxism hard and leaped from one height to another on the road of continuing the revolution.

The life-and-death struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines on the education front has made us understand profoundly that revisionism is the main danger at present. The capitalist roaders who were criticized during the great cultural revolution and have since refused to mend their ways are the vanguards stubbornly pursuing the revisionist line. During the socialist revolution, the bourgeoisie "is Right in the Communist Party--those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road." During the battle to criticize the revisionist trend of thought in the past four years, we have faced the world, braved the storms, withstood bourgeois pressure and firmly kept to the orientation that it is essential to revolutionize education.

In July, August and September 1975, the unrepentant Party person in power taking the capitalist road started the evil Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts and dished up the revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link" in an attempt to alter the Party's basic line and restore capitalism. They took the education front first and launched a full-scale, vengeful counter-attack on the great cultural revolution. They fanatically blustered such nonsense as "the present is not as good as the past," "the quality of education is inferior" and "it has hindered the four modernizations." With ulterior motives, they also accused us worker-peasant-soldier students of fearing hardship and being unwilling to go to the frontier regions. In those days when the sky was overclouded, all of us were indignant, longing for a revolutionary storm. "Reversing verdicts goes against the will of the people." It is your keen perception and personal leadership that have enabled us to make a good start of the battle to beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts!

Respected and beloved Chairman Mao, your revolutionary line is always in our hearts and minds! In the thick of the struggle we graduated. We recalled those extraordinary days of fierce class struggle in the past several years. We thought of the future of our motherland and the destiny of mankind in the next several decades and centuries. We also thought of the arduous, historic task of the younger generation in combating and preventing revisionism. For many nights when we were too excited to sleep, we read over and over your article <u>The Orientation of the Youth Movement</u>. We soberly saw that: In new colleges there are also the soil and conditions breeding bourgeois intellectuals. The bourgeois democrats in the Party degenerated from fellow-travellers of our revolution into power holders taking the capitalist road. This lesson profoundly shows that new bourgeois intellectual aristocrats will emerge at any time if we fail to restrict bourgeois rights, fail to remold our world outlook, and fail to take the road of integration with workers and peasants resolutely. "The masses are the real heroes." You have always taught us to learn modestly from the workers and peasants. We are much inferior to the workers and peasants. We will be expelled from the current of the making of the history by the masses if we do not integrate ourselves with the workers and peasants or if we integrate ourselves with them for just a moment. Our great cause of combating and preventing revisionism requires us to always equate the worker-peasant-soldier students with the

workers, peasants and soldiers. Seven years ago, we responded to your call and went to the prairie in Inner Mongolia, the frontier regions in Yunnan, the area in the southern foothills of the Tienshan Mountains and the Heilungkiang River valley. We love the fiery struggles there, but we love still more to fight wherever life is hardest. Tibet, located in the southwestern frontier of our motherland, is an outpost for combating revisionism. The million liberated serfs in Tibet suffered the most reactionary, the darkest, cruelest and most savage persecutions by the three big manorial lords--the reactionary local government, monasteries and aristocrats--in the past. They have the most fervent love for your revolutionary life. They earnestly hope that we will fight shoulder to shoulder with them to frustrate the aggressive ambition and splittist schemes of imperialism, revisionism and reaction and contribute to the socialist revolution and construction in Tibet. Tibet needs us, and we need Tibet even more! We college graduates pledge to serve as peasants, temper ourselves ideologically in the vast countryside, happily brave snowstorms on the plateau, settle in the frontier region and make revolution there--we took this oath yesterday, expressing our will to break with the ideas of the old system of ownership and old traditions. Today, with the solid action of coming to the grassroots level, the most difficult localities in Tibet and the areas where the million liberated serfs need us most, we invite your inspection, and we will fight courageously to implement your revolutionary line!

"Do not say that the strong pass is guarded with iron. This very day in one step we shall pass its summit." In our march to Tibet, we crossed the snowbound Kunlun Mountain and Tangkula Mountain. But, we are still at the very beginning in scaling the ideological heights. Without the movement--a movement initiated and led by you personally--to beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, it is possible for us middle school and college graduates to come in large groups to this stormy and snowy plateau. We will be unable to take our first step and get a firm foothold in the 10,000-li journey if we fail to carry through to the end the struggle to criticize that unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party. We clearly know that the snowstorms on the plateau are a test, but class struggle is a still better battlefield for testing ourselves.

From now on, whether we are fighting in frontier mountain villages or on vast prairies, we will always be inspired to go forward by your teaching: "You must devote yourselves to state affairs and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end." We are revolutionary youths determined to dedicate our whole lives to the struggle for communism. We will take class struggle as the main subject of study forever.

We are ashamed of being hermits; instead, we are happy to brave the storms anywhere. Under the centralized leadership of the Party committee of the autonomous region, we want to settle among the million liberated serfs, modestly accept re-education from them, seriously study Marxism-Leninism and your brilliant thought and strive for daily progress. We will never stop midway nor will we go backward. We will devote our militant lives to writing the newest and the most beautiful passages and drawing the newest and the most beautiful pictures on new Tibet.

"Nothing is hard in this world if you dare to scale the heights."

"Be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory."

Finally, we sincerely wish you a long, long life!

104 worker-peasant-soldier students of Tsinghua University, Peking University, Peking Medical College, Amoy University, and Tsingtao Public Health School who have come to Tibet to participate in socialist revolution and construction, and the first group of 15 educated youths who have come from Peking to settle in mountainous and other rural areas in Tibet

March 23, 1976

(NCNA dispatch from Lhasa, April 3, 1976)

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